

## Message Text

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PAGE 01 STATE 190103 TOSEC 080298  
ORIGIN PA-02

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UNCLAS STATE 190103 TOSEC 080298

FOR CARTER FROM PA

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: SOPN, OVIP (VANCE)

SUBJECT: PRESS MATERIAL

1. HERewith FULL TEXT EDITORIAL THURSDAY, AUGUST 11  
"THE VANCE MISSION." (WASHINGTON STAR)
2. THIS NATION, BUILT ON THE FRUITFUL BURIAL OF SO MANY  
HISTORIC HATREDS, TENDS BY NATURE TO GROW IMPATIENT WHEN  
OTHERS REJECT THAT FORGIVING APPROACH TO PEACE AND  
HAPPINESS.
3. SOME SUCH IMPATIENCE IS CLEARLY AT WORK IN THE  
CARTER ADMINISTRATION'S BUSY, BUSY SEARCH FOR A MIDDLE  
EAST PEACE SCHEME, AND IN SECRETARY VANCE'S CURRENT  
JOURNEY STEMMING FROM IT. IT IS ASSUMING THE TYPICAL  
FORM OF LEGALISM, THE PREMISE APPARENTLY BEING THAT IF  
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PAGE 02 STATE 190103 TOSEC 080298

MR. VANCE CAN COLLECT ENOUGH FORMULAS TWO OR THREE MUST  
FIT TOGETHER IN SOME "FRAMEUORK OF PEACE."

4. WITH THE QUIET DILIGENCE THAT IS A PERSONAL TRADE-  
MARK, MR. VANCE HAS BEEN SEEKING THE PALESTINIAN LIBERA-  
TION ORGANIZATION'S ACCEPTANCE OF UN RESOLUTION 242, NOW  
A DECADE OLD. ARTICLE II OF THAT INCOMPARABLY FOGGY

RESOLUTION CALLS FOR "RESPECT FOR AND ACKNOWLEDGMENT OF

THE SOVEREIGNTY, TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY AND POLITICAL INDEPENDENCE OF EVERY STATE IN THE AREA." IF ONLY, IT IS THOUGHT, THE PLO WOULD BUY THESE ELEVATED SENTIMENTS IN THE CASE OF ISRAEL, THEN PERHAPS--PERHAPS--ISRAEL'S NEW PREMIER, MENAHEM BEGIN, WOULD STOP BEING SO EMOTIONAL ABOUT THE PLO THREAT. PERHAPS HE WOULD STOP PUNCTUATING BANQUET TOASTS WITH DISCONCERTING PARALLELS BETWEEN THE PLO CHARTER AND ITS DESIGNS UPON ISRAEL AND HITLER'S MEIN KAMPF AND ITS DESIGNS UPON PREWAR EUROPEAN JEURY. THE WHOLE BUSINESS, WE GATHER, IS WHAT IS CURRENTLY KNOWN AS "DELIVERING MR. ARAFAT, THE BETTER TO "DELIVER" MR. BEGIN.

5. PERHAPS SECRETARY VANCE, OR PRESIDENT CARTER, KNOWS SOMETHING THE WORLD DOES NOT KNOW ABOUT THE PLO OR MR. BEGIN'S ATTITUDE, OR BOTH. BUT MOST OF THE CARDS ARE FACE-UP ALREADY, AND THE EVIDENCE IS THAT NOTHING OF THIS SORT WILL HAPPEN. NEITHER DELIVEREE WANTS TO BE DELIVERED.

6. THE PLO, EVEN GRANTING THE VARIETY OF ITS CONSTITUENT ELEMENTS, IS THE SORT OF OUTFIT THAT MAKES A JUST GRIEVANCE ODIUS. IT HAS EARNED THE ENMITY NOT ONLY OF ISRAEL BUT OF JORDAN AND LEBANON. THE ADJUSTMENT OF ITS CHARTER OF RESOLUTION 242 WOULD, IN FACT, BE UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 03 STATE 190103 TOSEC 080298

AN ACT OF IDEOLOGICAL SELF-ANNIHILATION, GIVEN ITS REJECTION OF ALL THAT HAS HAPPENED SINCE 1948.

7. MR. BEGIN, FOR HIS PART, DOES NOT STRIKE US AS A MAN OF IDLE SENTIMENTS WHEN IT COMES TO THE PLO'S ANTI-ISRAEL IDEOLOGY. HE SEEMS QUITE AS PASSIONATELY COMMITTED TO HIS VIEW OF THE DANGERS OF ANY DEALING WITH THE PLO AS THE PLO IS COMMITTED TO ISRAEL'S DESTRUCTION. "HE IS," AS JAMES RESTON WRITES IN A COLUMN ON THE NEXT PAGE, "ONE OF THOSE RARE PRICKLY BIRDS LIKE DE GAULLE, WHO REALLY MEANS WHAT OTHERS HAVE MERELY SAID."

8. IF SECRETARY VANCE CAN FIND A CONTRACTUAL FORMULA TO STILL THESE DEEP AND ABIDING HISTORIC PASSIONS, HE WILL BE A DIPLOMATIC MAGICIAN INDEED.

9. WE THINK IT MORE LIKELY, HOWEVER, THAT BOTH THE PARTIES WILL CLING TO THEIR CONVICTIONS. THE PLO WILL GO ON BEING ANTI-ISRAEL, AND MR. BEGIN WILL GO ON BEING ANTI-PLO, AS ANY NATIONAL LEADER MUST DISCOUNTENANCE AN OUTFIT WHOSE CENTRAL AIM IS THE ERASURE OF HIS STATE FROM THE MAP. THESE HISTORIC OBDURACIES

SEEM DIFFICULT FOR AMERICANS TO UNDERSTAND, WHEN OTHER ALTERNATIVES SEEM AT FIRST BLUSH MORE REASONABLE. IF THE PAST COULD BE FORGOTTEN AND FORGIVEN IT MIGHT BE SO; BUT THAT PROBABLY WON'T HAPPEN.

10. SOME QUARRELS ARE TOO DEEPLY ROOTED TO BE RATIONALIZED, OR REDUCED TO LEGAL FORMULAS, OR EVEN COMPROMISED BY THE CRUSHING PRESSURES THE US MIGHT TRY TO BRING TO BEAR ON ISRAEL IF IT WERE MORALLY AND POLITICALLY FEASIBLE TO DO SO.

11. SECRETARY VANCE SEEMS TO HAVE ENTERED A CUL-DE-SAC OF LEGALISTIC DIPLOMACY TO WHICH GOOD WILL AND RATIONALITY, UNTEMPERED BY THE HISTORIC SENSE, SO OFTEN LEAD. HE SHOULD ESCAPE IT AS QUICKLY AND QUIETLY AS CIRCUMSTANCES UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 04 STATE 190103 TOSEC 080298

PERMIT AND TURN TO MORE FRUITFUL APPROACHES, INVOLVING ESTABLISHED GOVERNMENTS RATHER THAN TERRORIST BANDS. WHEN AND IF A SOLID PEACE IS MADE IN THE MIDDLE EAST IT WILL BE MADE BY AND AMONG STATES WITH INTERESTS TO NEGOTIATE, NOT BY AND AMONG FACTIONS AND PERSONALITIES WHOSE FEARS AND ENMITIES ARE INDELIBLE. BUT THIS SEEMS A DIFFICULT FACT FOR US DIPLOMACY TO ACCEPT JUST NOW. CHRISTOPHER

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